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Occasional Papers, No. 21

REPORT
ON
NEGRO UNIVERSITIES
and COLLEGES

By

W. T. B. WILLIAMS

Field Director of the John F. Slater Fund

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NOTE

In 1913 Mr. Williams published a Report on Negro Universities in the South (Occasional Papers, No. 13), which included twenty-two institutions having the title of University. The present Report includes eighteen institutions having the title of University and fifteen having the title of College. It will be understood, of course, that the Report follows the official title. Payne and Selma, for example, are written under the head of Universities, although, as the Report states, these schools have neither college nor professional departments. It is important to have some revised information in regard to all these institutions, and I hope that this Report will be found useful. Mr. Williams is a graduate of Harvard University and as Field Director for the Slater Fund and the Jeanes Fund has had large experience in visiting and inspecting schools of all grades.

J. H. D.

PREFACE

Negro schools are peculiarly significant. Negroes are served by them more definitely and exclusively than is any other single group of our population by any one set of schools. It is of great importance not only to the Negroes but to the Nation as well that these schools should render a broad and effective service. Through the schools largely must Negroes be trained for the duties required of them by their country. The requirements are steadily broadening and advancing. Fifty years ago it was generally thought an elementary education would suffice for all the Negro's needs; but few conceived of any use he could make of college training. Today the public demands of him a college degree before granting him the privilege of serving his fellows in a number of important capacities.

This brief report on Negro universities and colleges covers thirty-three of the leading institutions offering advanced training to colored youth. This list does not by any means exhaust the number, but it does however contain those that are typical of the best in their field. Of necessity they do a great deal of work that ought to be done elsewhere by schools of elementary and secondary grade. And on account of their slender means they are rarely able to do as effectively as they should the work they were planned to carry on. Nevertheless these schools render an important service in their high school, teacher-training, college and professional courses. As Negroes develop and share more largely in the life and activities of the nation these schools increase in interest and importance. The best of them need only to be known and understood to be appreciated.

W. T. B. WILLIAMS.

NEGRO UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

The schools included in this report are located in eleven Southern States, four Northern States, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Missouri and Kansas, and the District of Columbia. They constitute a significant group among the best educational institutions for Negro youth in America. They are representative of the efforts of most of the great Northern missionary societies and other philanthropic bodies in the work of education among the Negroes of the South; they also include some of the best schools supported by public funds from the several States and the Nation as well as some of the more effective of the institutions created and maintained by the Negroes themselves. Seven of the universities and three of the colleges considered are supported mainly by the Negro Methodists and Baptists.

In the former Report on Negro Universities in 1913 only those schools were studied that had the title university. However certain other colleges doing work similar to that of the universities were mentioned. It has been thought well to include a group of the better colleges in this study. The institutions covered are the following:

UNIVERSITIES

Payne University, Selma, Ala.
Selma University, Selma, Ala.
Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.
Clark University, Atlanta, Ga.
Morris Brown University, Atlanta, Ga.
Western University, Kansas City, Kans.
Simmons University, Louisville, Ky.
Southern University, Baton Rouge, La.
Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Mo.
Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O.
Lincoln University, Lincoln University, Pa.
*Biddle University, Charlotte, N. C.

*Since this report was written Biddle University has changed its name to Johnston C. Smith University.

Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.
 Allen University, Columbia, S. C.
 Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
 Roger Williams University, Nashville, Tenn.
 Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.
 Howard University, Washington, D. C.

COLLEGES

Talladega College, Talladega, Ala.
 Florida A. & M. College, Tallahassee, Fla.
 Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.
 New Orleans Teachers College, New Orleans, La.
 Straight College, New Orleans, La.
 Rust College, Holly Springs, Miss.
 Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Miss.
 Livingstone College, Salisbury, N. C.
 Benedict College, Columbia, S. C.
 Claflin College, Orangeburg, S. C.
 Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tenn.
 Lane College, Jackson, Tenn.
 Bishop College, Marshall, Texas.
 Wiley College, Marshall, Texas.
 Texas College, Tyler, Texas.

The list of universities is somewhat different from the one reported in 1913. Six of the former group of universities,—Claflin, New Orleans, Rust, Straight, Tougaloo, and Wiley, have changed their titles to colleges. They appear in the list of colleges above. Phillips University has become Texas College, and State University, Louisville, Ky. has changed its name to Simmons University. Leland University of the original list has been closed for several years, but it has recently purchased a new site near Baton Rouge, La. and will open again in the near future. Walden University also will cease to exist as such at the end of this school year. It will be moved from its present site in Nashville, Tenn. to the suburbs of the city and be reorganized at a school of secondary grade. Lincoln Institute, Jefferson City, Mo., the agricultural and mechanical college for the State, has recently been changed by Legislative enactment to Lincoln University and so appears in the above list. Three well-known Negro universities located in Northern States, and so not reported upon in the former

study, are added to the above list. They are Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, Wilberforce University in Ohio, and Western University in Kansas.

In accordance with their ownership, management, and support these schools fall into several rather distinct groups as follows:

Supported mainly by Federal Government.

Howard University.

Owned and supported by State with aid of Federal Government.

Florida A. & M. College.

Lincoln University, Mo.

Southern University, La.

Owned by Negroes but supported largely by State.

Western University.

Wilberforce University.

Owned and supported mainly by Negroes.

Methodist

Allen University

Morris Brown University

Lane College

Livingstone College

Payne University

Texas College

Baptist

Selma University

Simmons University

Roger Williams University

Supported mainly by Northern Philanthropy.

Atlanta University

Benedict College

Biddle University

Bishop College

Claffin College

Clark University

Fisk University

Knoxville College

Lincoln University, Pa.

Morehouse College

New Orleans Teachers College

Rust College

Shaw University

Straight College

Talladega College

Tougaloo College

Virginia Union University

Wiley College

Two of the universities, Payne and Selma, have no college nor professional departments. And more than half of their students, 58% and 62% respectively, are in the elementary

grades. Howard University and Lincoln University, Pa. are the only ones of all these institutions that have dropped their high schools. All the others have departments for secondary work, called often normal departments, with a little teacher training work included in the courses of study. A gradual tendency, however, is towards making the normal work really professional and placing it above the high school grades on par with the work of the earlier college years. Eleven of the eighteen universities and fourteen of the fifteen colleges carry the elementary grades. Thirteen of these institutions begin as low as the first primary grade. Twelve of the universities and four of the colleges have theological schools; one, Howard University, has the only law school as well as the only medical school in these two groups of schools.

The above facts and other data are set forth in the tables appended. The figures are for the current school year, 1921-1922, with the exception of those for the annual expenses, which are for the year 1920-1921. They were collected mainly in December, January and February of 1921-1922.

Tables I-A and I-B show for the universities and colleges respectively the total number of students enrolled, the enrollment by classes in the college department, the percentage of students in the college department, the number of normal students of college grade, and the enrollment in the professional schools.

Tables II-A and II-B show the enrollment by classes in the High School and the percentage of students in that department, the length of the school year in weeks and of the recitation period in minutes, and the enrollment in the grades.

Tables III-A and III-B indicate the race and sex of the presidents and teachers of the several institutions, the number of teachers giving their full time to college work, and the academic degrees held by the teachers.

Tables IV-A and IV-B set forth the figures that will give a fairly good idea of the value of the school plants and their equipment, the annual expenditures, and the amount of endowment.

RELATIVE SIZE OF COLLEGE DEPARTMENTS

From table I-A and table I-B it may be seen that there are two institutions that have only from 2% to 4% of their non-professional students enrolled in the college departments. These same two and six others were in this group in 1913. At that time Claflin, Roger Williams, Rust and Wiley had only from 5% to 9% of their non-professional students in the college departments. Two of these schools still fall in this group, but Roger Williams now has 24% and Wiley 34% of their enrollment in the college departments. Then there were only four out of twenty-two of the most advanced educational institutions for Negroes in America with more than 15% of their students in the college departments. They were Biddle, Fisk, Howard, and Virginia Union. Now there are twelve schools with from 20% to 100% of their non-professional students in their college departments. They are

Roger Williams	24%	Biddle	33%
Talladega	24%	Wiley	34%
Morehouse	28%	Virginia Union	41%
Wilberforce	30%	Fisk	64%
Shaw	31%	Lincoln, Pa.	100%
Bishop	31%	Howard	100%

Tables I-A and I-B also show the actual number of college students enrolled in the several institutions. Nine years ago only 10 of the 22 Negro universities had more than 20 college students each, beginning with 21 at Claflin University and ending with 327 at Howard University, and only one other, Fisk University, with more than 100 college students. Today there are five universities and three colleges with more than 100 students in their respective college departments. They are

Virginia Union University	135
Lincoln University, Pa.	220
Wilberforce University	249
Fisk University	273
Howard University	895
Talladega College	121
Morehouse College	135
Wiley College	177

There are also eight more institutions with from 56 to 98 college students each. They are

Shaw University	98
Atlanta University	91

Biddle University	75
Lincoln University, Mo.	68
Morris Brown University	56
Benedict College	59
Bishop College	86
Knoxville College	63

If normal students of college grade are counted, then Atlanta University with 55 normals would go into the first group with more than 100 college students, and the Florida A. & M. College with 31 normals would be added to the second group.

The total number of college students in the 22 universities studied in 1913 was 945; in the same schools this year, 1922, there are 2,036, representing an increase of 1,091 college students, or a gain of 115%.

In the 18 universities and 15 colleges covered by this study there are 3,264 college students. They constitute, however, only 21.9% of the total 14,905, non-professional students enrolled in these schools, or 20.4% of the whole enrollment. If the 3,264 students of college grade were distributed evenly among the 33 institutions there would be 98 college students in each school. There is a growing tendency, however, for the college students to congregate in a comparatively few of the stronger institutions. Howard University, for instance, has 895 of these college students, or 27% of the whole number; and the eight schools shown above with the highest college enrollment have 2,205 of these students, or 67%.

There are enrolled in all these institutions 6,555 high school students. They form 43% of the non-professional students in this group of schools.

In the elementary grades among these schools 4,486 students are enrolled. They constitute 30% of the non-professional enrollment in these thirty-three universities and colleges.

The universities and colleges are beginning to feel the effect of the gradual improvement in the public elementary schools during the last ten years. Most of these schools have found it possible to reduce the number of their elementary grades. Eight of the universities and one college have dropped their elementary grades entirely. In the 22 schools of this group studied nine years ago about 50% of the students were in the

grades. In the whole group here considered the proportion of students in the grades has been reduced to 30%, as is shown above.

On the other hand the proportion of high school students in these higher institutions has increased during the last nine years from about 33% to 43%. The movement for public high schools for Negro youth is gaining headway, but the increase in the number of such schools so far falls infinitely short of meeting the rapidly growing demand for secondary education among colored people. Accordingly the private colleges must carry not only the college work for Negro youth for which the public makes practically no provision but the bulk of the high school work as well for the support of which the public is just beginning to make appreciable appropriations.

THE SCHOOL YEAR

For very good reasons, mainly financial, the Negro college usually runs fewer weeks than standard requirements call for. However a marked improvement has been made in most of the schools of this group. Of the 33 institutions considered, 19 now, as compared with only 2, nine years ago, run for 36 weeks, the minimum standard school year. Eight of the schools run for at least 34 weeks, and only three fall to 32 weeks.

RECITATION PERIODS

Ten of these institutions have 60 minutes recitation periods. Five others have practically the same, 55 minutes, after allowing five minutes for passing. All the others, with one exception, have 45 minutes periods.

COLLEGE ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS

With the exception of six of the schools that demand 16 units, these institutions require 15 units for admission to their college departments. These units are of approximately standard value. For several reasons not as much time is given to the various regulation college preparatory subjects in the secondary schools of these colleges and universities as is given

in standard college preparatory schools. Such subjects as Bible study, music, and the various industrial courses required in colored schools, as a rule, lessen the amount of effort that may be given to the more conventional academic subjects although they may not reduce the recitation time given to the latter studies. In fact, the time given to the industries is usually in excess of the 20 or more recitation periods per week in academic subjects.

COURSES OF STUDY

High School Departments

In the secondary departments of these 33 institutions there are 6,555 students, or a few more than twice the number of college students. Accordingly practically all of these schools carry high school departments. The two exceptions are Howard University, Washington, D. C. and Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, and they have only recently dropped their high school courses. In fact secondary work constitutes by far the chief undertaking in the great majority of these institutions. And this work corresponds more uniformly to standard grades than the more advanced work of the undergraduate departments of these schools.

The high school work is based almost without exception upon eight grades of grammar school work. The courses include college preparatory work, commercial courses, industrial courses, and courses devoted largely to normal training work. Four years are regularly required for the completion of these courses.

The following table shows the main subjects offered and the time devoted to them by the high schools in twelve of the leading institutions:

	Math.	Latin	Greek	Modern Foreign Language	English	History	Civics
Atlanta University	3	4	1	0	4	2	1
Biddle University	4	4	2	2	4	2	1
Fisk University	3½	4	3	2	3½	2½	1
Morris Brown Univ.....	4	4	2	0	4	1	1
*Shaw University	3	3	0	1	3	2	½
Virginia Union Univ.....	3	3	2	2	4	3½	½
Wilberforce University	2½	4	2	1	3	2	½

	Chemistry	Physics	Gen. Sci.	Ind. Sub.
Atlanta University	1	1	1	4
Biddle University	1	1	0	4
Fisk University	1	0	1	1
Morris Brown University	1	1	1	3
Shaw University	0	1	1	3
Virginia Union University	1	0	1	2
Wilberforce University	1	1	1	4

	Math	Latin	Greek	Modern Foreign Language	English	History	Civics
Bishop College	3½	4	2	2	4	2	½
Fla. A. and M. College...	3½	4	0	2	4	2½	½
Morehouse College	3	4	2	0	4	1½	½
Talladega	3	4	0	2	4	2½	½
Wiley College	4	4	0	2	4	4	0

	Physics	Chemistry	Gen. Sci.	Ind. Sub.
Bishop College	1	1	0	4
Fla. A. & M. College	1	1	0	4
Morehouse College	1	1	0	3
Talladega College	1	0	1	3
Wiley College	1	1	1	4

The various industrial, commercial, and normal training courses are substituted for certain of the above courses or are taken in addition to them.

The College

With the remarkable increase in the number of college students in the colored colleges and universities in the last few years, have come also many very desirable improvements in the schools. As beneficiaries of the Centenary Fund raised by the Methodist Episcopal Church, North, the schools conducted by this Church are securing repairs, much needed additions and attractive new buildings, and some necessary equipment for doing real college work. The General Education Board has, in recent years, also given signal assistance to certain of the colleges and universities and so helped to put them in a better condition than ever before for doing effective work of college grade. And many of these schools have secured aid from other private sources also for improving their work. And the public funds in Ohio, Kansas, Missouri, and Louisiana are making increasingly effective the work of their

*Shaw University has dropped its First-Year High-School course.

respective Negro institutions, Wilberforce University, Western University, Lincoln University, and Southern University.

Howard University, in comparison with the other colored schools, has developed into a class by itself. Howard has 895 college students, or 27% of all the college students enrolled in these 33 institutions. And as a result of the amount and quality of the work done and of the general efficiency of this school, Howard University has gained recognition as a standard college and has been admitted to membership in the Association of Colleges and High Schools of the Middle Atlantic States and Maryland.

Most of the colleges and universities are not only improving their plants and equipment but are strengthening their faculties by the addition of young, well-trained teachers. They are also broadening their work by increasing the number and kind of courses offered. Few of the schools ten years ago provided more than a single college course required of all students. In most of the schools of this group considerable choice is now possible, and in the better of them quite a wide range of electives has been provided. Though insistence upon the classics remains fairly general in these schools, the tendency is away from them. Much less Latin than formerly is required for graduation. Greek is going more rapidly still, and in a few instances it has disappeared. Modern languages are given increasing space in the curriculum. History, the social sciences, and philosophy are gaining rapidly in favor. But most marked of all are the gains made in the number of courses offered in the natural sciences. New and well-equipped science laboratories, as at Morehouse College and Clark University, or greatly improved science equipment, such as Wiley College enjoys, or new laboratories about to be built, as at Lincoln University, Pa. and at Talladega College are the recent distinguishing features of some of the more progressive institutions.

The following table shows the subjects and the number of courses reckoned in years, offered by six of the better universities and colleges:

SUBJECTS	Virginia Union. Univ. Courses	Lincoln Univ. (Pa.) Courses	Fisk Univ. Courses	Atlanta Univ. Courses	Morehouse College Courses	Wiley College Courses
Mathematics	4	4	3 $\frac{1}{3}$	3	3	2 $\frac{2}{3}$
Chemistry	4	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	4	4	2 $\frac{2}{3}$
Physics	2	2	2 $\frac{1}{3}$	1	1	2 $\frac{1}{3}$
Biology	3	2	1 $\frac{2}{3}$	1	4	3 $\frac{1}{3}$
Latin	2	3	5 $\frac{1}{3}$	2	2	4
Greek	1	3	4 $\frac{1}{3}$	2	3	0
Spanish	0	2	2	0	0	3
French	3	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1	2	3
German	2	2	2	1	2	4
English	5	5	5 $\frac{1}{3}$	4	5	5 $\frac{1}{3}$
History	1	3	3	2	3	2
Political Science	1	0	6	0	2	1
Economics	2	2	3 $\frac{2}{3}$	1	1	2
Sociology	2	3	3	1	3	2
Philosophy	4	2	1	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1
Psychology	4	1	2 $\frac{2}{3}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{2}{3}$
Education	2	2	3 $\frac{2}{3}$	5	1	4
Agriculture	0	0	1 $\frac{2}{3}$	0	0	1
Astronomy	0	0	0	1	0	0
Geology	0	0	0	1	0	2 $\frac{2}{3}$
Home Economics	0	0	3	0	0	0
Journalism	0	0	2	0	0	0

The Professional Schools

Within the past decade Shaw University closed its schools of law and medicine. Meanwhile Meharry Medical College of Walden University was reorganized upon an independent basis. As a result Howard University has the only law school and the only medical school in this group of the leading Negro educational institutions. In the Howard Law School there are 154 students; in the several departments of the medical school there are 532 students.

These schools offer courses similar to those given in the better professional schools of the country. The medical school of Howard University and the Meharry Medical College as well are subjected to the same severe requirements as are imposed upon other high-class medical schools. The graduates of these schools pass the same state examinations and practice under the same conditions as the graduates of any other schools.

In 16 of these schools there are theological departments with a total enrollment of 332 students. No such rigid standards obtain in these schools as are set in the medical schools. However considerable improvement is apparent in their work. The

completion of a high school course as a condition for entering the theological department is becoming a fairly general requirement. A steadily increasing number of theological students have either completed their college courses or are taking college work along with their theological studies. The significantly helpful work of these theological schools is readily apparent in the colored churches of the country. Practically all the leading colored Baptist ministers of Georgia today received their training at Morehouse College, for instance. And a similar service has been rendered the Negro Baptists of South Carolina by Benedict College, and of North Carolina by Shaw University. The Methodists are indebted for a like service to such schools as Livingstone College, Morris Brown University, Clark University, and Wilberforce University.

All the institutions of this group render an incalculable service in the preparation of teachers. However only such schools as Atlanta University, Fisk University, Wilberforce University, and Howard University carry on any considerable amount of this work upon what may be called a professional basis. These schools offer courses in education of college grade. The others, with but very few exceptions, give all their teacher training work in the high school departments. Much of this work nevertheless is very valuable. It is to such private schools as these that the South has been, and for a long time will be, mainly indebted for teachers for the colored public schools, for the South has no adequate facilities for training Negro teachers at public expense.

Some commercial courses are offered in a number of these schools. Regularly organized commercial departments obtain in at least seven of the universities; Lincoln, Mo., Western, Morris Brown, Clark, Wilberforce, Fisk, and Howard. In most cases the commercial courses are given in the high school departments. Usually these courses cover two years special work, or four years of commercial training combined with the regular academic work of the secondary school. Wilberforce University has a specially organized, well equipped, effective commercial department with two years work above the high school. Fisk University offers college courses in such sub-

jects as accounting, banking, insurance, and business law. Howard University offers a full two year college course in its School of Commerce and Finance.

Industrial training is a prominent feature in but few of these schools, notably at Wilberforce University, Western University, Southern University, and the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College. However, some form or amount of industrial training is so general among these schools that it calls for consideration. This work approaches trade proportions only at the four institutions mentioned above and possibly at Shaw University. Generally the work for young women, especially in domestic science and art, is better organized and more effectively conducted than the work for men. The latter are usually given training in printing, blacksmithing, elementary carpentry, cabinet-making, bricklaying, auto-mechanics, and in agriculture. This work is given as a rule in the grammar grades or in the high school departments of these schools.

ADMINISTRATION AND INSTRUCTION

From tables III-A and III-B a fairly good idea regarding the officers and teachers in these institutions may be obtained. Of the 33 presidents 18 are colored and 15 white. In the 22 universities reported upon in 1913 there were only 8 colored presidents. In this latter group there has been a gain of only two colored presidents; but by including in the present group the 15 colleges and several universities not formerly studied the tendency toward colored officers and teachers is made clear. In the thirty-three schools there are 269 white teachers and 715 colored teachers or more than two and a half times as many colored as white teachers, while nine years ago there were in 22 of the schools of this group only 59 more colored than white teachers. As to sex these teachers are divided into 129 white men and 399 colored men, and 140 white women and 316 colored women.

Tables III-A and III-B show also something of the preparation of the teachers. Among them there are 193 with the A. B. or B. S. degree, 84 with the A. M. degree, and 18 with

the Ph. D. degree from standard Northern Colleges, and 151 with the A. B. or B. S. degree, and 29 with the A. M. degree from colored colleges. Altogether there are only 475 holding degrees, or fewer than half of the total teaching force. Of these only 131 have taken anything beyond the bachelor's degree. Accordingly the tables show that but few of the schools have any considerable number of teachers that may be regarded as specialists. Nevertheless these teachers do good work in the main in spite of heavy schedules and a great many executive and other duties. For years, their students, upon completing their college courses, have been able to make the Junior Class and in some cases the Senior Class in the best Northern colleges. Now with an increasing number of younger and well-prepared teachers being added to their forces and with ampler equipment at their service they will be able to do a great deal more work of standard college grade.

COST OF COLLEGE DEPARTMENTS

As is shown above, all of these universities and colleges, with two exceptions, carry high schools, and all but eight of them have the elementary grades as well. The college uses generally the same buildings, grounds, and equipment, and is taught by the same teachers in most cases, as the lower schools. Accordingly it is not usually possible to tell definitely just what the college work costs. The college department is the smallest part of most of these institutions. Table I-A and I-B show that there are only 10 of these 33 schools that have 25% or more of their enrollment in the college departments. Aside from Howard University and Lincoln University, Pa. that have no schools below the college, Fisk University with 64% of its students in the college is the only one of this group that has more than half of its enrollment in this department. Virginia Union stands next with 41% of its students in college. None of the others has more than about one-third of its students so enrolled. Generally then the cost of the college department would not greatly exceed that part of the total cost of running the school which the college enrollment bears

to the total enrollment. This condition will not continue, however, in all probability. For with the development that has begun in the leading schools at least sharper differentiation is almost sure to follow. The multiplication of courses, improved equipment, and specially trained teachers will naturally send up the cost of college training.

VALUES OF SCHOOL PLANTS

Tables IV-A and IV-B give a fairly good idea of the financial values of the several school plants, of their endowments, and of the annual expenditures of these schools. It is noticeable that the value of the land, buildings and equipment reaches \$500,000 in only six of the thirty-three institutions; Howard, Wilberforce, Clark, Fisk, and Virginia Union. Howard University alone has property that exceeds a million dollars in value. Of the \$850,000 in property reported for Wilberforce University by far the greater portion belongs to the Combined Normal and Industrial Department which is owned and operated by the State of Ohio. None of the other schools has a plant valued as high as \$400,000, though several come quite near that figure. However there are only ten of these schools with plants valued at less than \$200,000. Of the latter three fall below \$100,000.

Only a few of these schools have any very considerable endowment. Ten of them have no endowment at all. Ten others have only from \$5,000 to \$95,000 in endowment. Six have from \$100,000 to \$257,997.54 endowment. Only one passes the half million dollar mark with an endowment of \$612,992.00. Accordingly these schools depend mainly upon what money they can raise year by year from private philanthropy.

The annual expenditures of these schools are as a result comparatively small. They amount in only three of them to more than \$300,000 each. The next five spend from \$95,467.23 to \$164,500. In the remainder of the schools the annual expenses range from \$15,000 to \$79,164.00.

SERVICE OF THE NEGRO COLLEGES

In spite of the comparative weaknesses of the Negro colleges and universities these schools render a most valuable service to the colored people. For them they are the chief agencies for education and training above the elementary grades. The demands for the higher education are rapidly increasing as is shown by the growing numbers of students in the college departments of these schools. The improving elementary schools are turning out more Negro youth than ever before. Greater numbers of them desire to continue their education since many complete the elementary courses before they are old enough to secure profitable employment. Furthermore the Negro's growing means put the college within reach of larger numbers of colored youth. Then too the callings toward which the more ambitious Negroes have aimed, not to mention the newer fields opening to them, are demanding superior training of the youth. A college education is fast becoming the requisite amount of training for Negro youth who would enter the professions, the higher forms of business developing among Negroes, social service, or teaching in the high schools and smaller colleges. In this connection it is interesting to note that the South, which formerly either opposed or gave but scant approval to college education for Negroes and provided practically none for them, is now demanding college degrees of Negro teachers in public high schools and of teachers of home economics, of agriculture and of the mechanical arts in other schools and colleges. The states make the same high requirements also of Negro candidates as of others who would enter the professions.

It is altogether probable then that the Negro college and university will be called upon to serve a steadily increasing number of young colored men and women. For a number of reasons it is desirable that they take their college work mainly in the South. The Southern college ought to be better able than any other to adjust its work to the particular needs of the Negro and its section of the country. But such a college must offer strong courses with a considerable range of subjects, if it would make an effective appeal to the more

capable colored youth. If then these Negro colleges and universities are to render the greatest possible service, it is necessary that a reasonable number of them be so strengthened financially and otherwise that they may become efficient institutions of genuine college grade.

By virtue of their location, ampler means, superior equipment, and general efficiency such schools as Howard University, Lincoln University, Pa., Fisk University, Virginia Union University, and Morehouse College and Wiley College already occupy conspicuous places in this group of schools. If they, and a few other institutions perhaps, could be so fully and definitely developed as to place them entirely out of serious competition with the weaker schools of college grade, the unfortunate duplication of college work would be greatly lessened and the opportunities for real advanced training of Negroes would be materially increased.

TABLE I-A

	College Enrollment						†Per cent in college	Normals above high school	College en- trance units	Professional Schools		
	Total enrollment	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Total college				Theological	Law	Medical
Payne University	505	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Selma, Ala.												
Selma University	506	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	1	0	0
Selma, Ala.												
Atlanta University	711	15	13	22	41	91	12.7	55	15	0	0	0
Atlanta, Ga.												
Clark University	439	6	4	15	19	44	10	0	16	0	0	0
Atlanta, Ga.												
Morris Brown Univ.	784	9	8	17	22	56	7.5	26	15	27	0	0
Atlanta, Ga.												
Western University	316	2	4	12	12	30	10.1	4	15	19	0	0
Kansas City, Kans.												
Simmons University	310	3	7	6	23	39	12.5	0	15	2	0	0
Louisville, Ky.												
Southern University	438	0	0	14	22	36	8.2	0	16	0	0	0
Baton Rouge, La.												
Lincoln University	500	0	6	32	30	68	13.6	0	15	0	0	0
Jefferson City, Mo.												
Biddle University	243	22	18	16	19	75	32.4	0	15	12	0	0
Charlotte, N. C.												
Shaw University	342	16	15	26	41	98	31.8	0	15	34	0	0
Raleigh, N. C.												
Wilberforce University ..	865	32	47	80	90	249	30	61	15	37	0	0
Wilberforce, O.												
Lincoln University	242	29	46	72	73	220	100	0	15	22	0	0
Lincoln Univ., Pa.												
Allen University	799	3	1	5	2	11	1.4	0	16	16	0	0
Columbia, S. C.												
Fisk University	425	53	33	59	128	273	64.2	0	15	0	0	0
Nashville, Tenn.												
Roger Williams Univ....	138	5	3	7	18	33	24.0	0	15	6	0	0
Nashville, Tenn.												
Virginia Union Univ....	356	10	31	35	59	135	41.5	0	15	31	0	0
Richmond, Va.												
Howard University	1612	85	185	187	426	*895	100	0	15	31	154	532
Washington, D. C.												
	9531	290	421	605	1025	2353	26.1	.....	.....	226	154	532

*Including twelve unclassified students.

†Percentage of non-professional students.

TABLE I-B

	College Enrollment									Professional Schools		
	Total enrollment	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Total college	*Per cent in college	Normals above high school	College entrance units	Theological	Law	Medical
Talladega College	512	27	17	40	37	121	24.6	0	15	21	0	0
Talladega, Ala.												
Fla. A. & M. College...	329	6	12	8	16	42	13.9	31	16	0	0	0
Tallahassee, Fla.												
Morehouse College	505	22	34	27	52	135	28.7	0	16	35	0	0
Atlanta, Ga.												
N. Orleans Teachers Col.	587	0	0	9	19	28	4.7	0	15	0	0	0
New Orleans, La.												
Straight College	447	3	1	8	19	31	6.9	0	15	0	0	0
New Orleans, La.												
Rust College	350	1	4	5	8	18	5.1	0	15	0	0	0
Holly Springs, Miss.												
Tougaloo College	352	1	2	2	6	11	3.1	0	15	0	0	0
Tougaloo, Miss.												
Livingstone College	339	9	12	24	23	68	21.2	0	15	19	0	0
Salisbury, N. C.												
Claffin College	470	3	1	6	18	28	5.9	0	15	0	0	0
Orangeburg, S. C.												
Knoxville College	354	6	10	10	37	63	17.7	0	15	0	0	0
Knoxville, Tenn.												
Lane College	346	7	6	5	20	38	10.9	13	15	0	0	0
Jackson, Tenn.												
Benedict College	768	7	9	15	18	49	6.6	0	16	31	0	0
Columbia, S. C.												
Bishop College	271	13	18	24	31	86	31.7	0	15	0	0	0
Marshall, Texas												
Wiley College	518	29	21	21	106	177	34.1	11	15	0	0	0
Marshall, Texas												
Texas College	244	3	2	6	5	16	6.5	14	15	0	0	0
Tyler, Texas												
	6392	137	149	210	415	911	14.4	69	.....	106	0	0

*Percentage of non-professional students.

TABLE II-A

	High School Enrollment						Elementary Grades				
	Fourth year	Third year	Second year	First year	Total	Per cent in high school	Weeks in term	Minutes in recita. per.	Grades	Pupils	Per cent in grades
Payne University	27	63	48	70	208	41.1	36	45	1-8	297	58.9
Selma, Ala.											
Selma University	39	32	50	59	180	35.4	34	45	1-8	318	62.8
Selma, Ala.											
Atlanta University	75	98	107	114	394	55.4	24	45	1-8	171	24.0
Atlanta, Ga.											
Clark University	40	64	67	95	266	60.5	36	45	7-8	129	29.3
Atlanta, Ga.											
Morris Brown University	40	89	97	126	352	44.5	36	60	5-8	280	36.9
Atlanta, Ga.											
Western University	70	61	63	69	263	88.5	36	45	0	0	0
Kansas City, Kans.											
Simmons University	32	40	68	56	196	63.2	36	45	5-8	73	23.5
Louisville, Ky.											
Southern University	31	75	79	101	286	65.3	36	50	6-7	116	26.4
Baton Rouge, La.											
Lincoln University	36	78	64	82	260	52.0	.....		1-8	172	34.4
Jefferson City, Mo.											
Biddle University	30	33	60	33	156	67.5	36	60	0	0	0
Charlotte, N. C.											
Shaw University	73	71	88	0	232	75.3	35	55	0	0	0
Raleigh, N. C.											
Wilberforce University	64	47	63	73	247	29.8	38	60	0	0	0
Wilberforce, O.											
Lincoln University	0	0	0	0	0	0	35	55	0	0	0
Lincoln University, Pa.											
Allen University	81	79	70	47	277	35.3	34	45	1-8	501	63.9
Columbia, S. C.											
Fisk University	26	34	31	23	114	26.8	36	55	4-8	38	8.9
Nashville, Tenn.											
Roger Williams University	14	27	13	21	75	54.3	36	60	7-8	24	17.3
Nashville, Tenn.											
Virginia Union University	39	70	66	15	190	58.4	36	60	0	0	0
Richmond, Va.											
Howard University	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	60	0	0	0
Washington, D. C.											
	717	961	1034	984	3696	43.2	.....	.....	.....	2095	24.5

TABLE II-B

	High School Enrollment						Weeks in term	Minutes in recita. per.	Grades Elementary		
	Fourth year	Third year	Second year	First year	Total	Per cent in high school			Grades	Pupils	Per cent in grades
Talladega College	37	32	20	28	117	23.8	36	60	1-8	253	51.5
Talladega, Ala.											
Florida A. & M. College	57	53	43	60	213	64.8	34	55	1-8	41	0
Tallahassee, Fla.											
Morehouse College	63	60	77	135	335	71.0	32	45	0	0	0
Atlanta, Ga.											
New Orleans Teachers College.	34	81	81	133	329	56.0	36	40	1-8	230	39.1
New Orleans, La.											
Straight College	38	44	37	62	181	40.4	33	45	1-8	235	52.5
New Orleans, La.											
Rust College	17	25	39	55	136	38.8	36	45	1-8	196	56.0
Holly Springs, Miss.											
Tougaloo College	27	31	45	41	144	40.0	33	45	1-8	197	53.1
Tougaloo, Miss.											
Livingstone College	36	55	80	58	229	71.2	34	60	7-8	23	7.1
Salisbury, N. C.											
Claffin College	31	25	49	64	169	35.9	32	45	1-8	273	58.0
Orangeburg, S. C.											
Knoxville College	21	30	37	32	120	33.8	36	55	6-8	154	43.5
Knoxville, Tenn.											
Lane College	22	40	35	53	150	43.3	36	45	7-8	99	28.6
Jackson, Tenn.											
Benedict College	34	64	54	74	226	30.6	34	45	1-8	452	61.1
Columbia, S. C.											
Bishop College	21	38	39	29	127	46.8	36	45	6-8	53	19.5
Marshall, Texas											
Wiley College	63	67	54	67	251	48.4	36	60	1-8	79	13.3
Marshall, Texas											
Texas College	23	35	34	40	132	54.0	32	60	1-8	82	33.6
Tyler, Texas											
	524	680	724	931	2859	45.4	.....	.....	.....	2367	37.6

TABLE III-A

	TEACHERS											
	President	With Degrees from										
		White Colored	White		Colored	Total	In Coll. Dept. only	Standard Northern Colleges			Colored Colleges	
			M	W				M	W	A.B.		A.M.	Ph.D.
Payne University	1	0	0	4	10	14	0	2	0	0	1	0
Selma University	1	0	0	10	19	29	0	3	1	0	7	0
Atlanta University	1	7	11	4	14	36	0	11	1	1	4	0
Clark University	1	2	4	3	11	20	0	4	1	0	5	0
Morris Brown University.....	1	0	0	12	15	27	0	1	2	0	7	0
Western University	1	0	0	21	5	26	0	5	0	0	4	0
Simmons University	1	0	0	10	11	21	0	4	1	0	3	2
Southern University	1	0	0	20	9	29	0	2	1	0	8	1
Lincoln University, Mo.	1	0	0	14	19	33	0	9	1	0	2	0
Biddle University	1	0	0	15	0	15	6	4	1	0	1	9
Shaw University	1	2	7	10	7	26	3	7	1	1	5	1
Wilberforce University	1	0	0	37	20	57	11	9	4	1	7	3
Lincoln University, Pa.	1	13	0	5	0	18	6	9	2	2	5	0
Allen University	1	0	0	9	9	18	0	1	0	0	9	0
Fisk University	1	10	20	11	2	43	24	14	5	1	6	5
Roger Williams University	1	0	0	7	12	19	2	5	0	0	9	0
Virginia Union University	1	5	2	10	4	21	7	5	6	0	5	0
Howard University	1	50	6	72	7	135	65	29	34	10	0	0
	7	11	89	50	274	174	587	124	61	16	88	21

TABLE III-B

	TEACHERS												
	President	With Degrees from											
		White Colored	White	Colored	Total	In Coll. Dept. only	Standard Northern Colleges			Colored Colleges			
							A.B.	A.M.	Ph.D.	A.B.	A.M.		
Talladega College	1	8	16	10	13	47	3	3	1	1	0		
Florida A. & M. College	1	0	0	17	21	38	2	5	0	7	1		
Morehouse College	1	1	0	17	2	20	6	2	0	7	0		
New Orleans Teachers College ..	1	2	6	9	16	27	5	1	0	5	1		
Straight College	1	4	12	5	11	32	8	1	0	2	0		
Rust College	1	0	2	9	14	25	1	0	1	8	0		
Tougaloo College	1	3	16	2	2	23	9	0	0	1	0		
Livingstone College	1	0	0	13	13	26	4	2	0	3	3		
Clafin College	1	4	5	4	10	23	4	3	0	6	0		
Knoxville College	1	4	13	5	0	22	10	1	0	0	0		
Lane College	1	0	0	8	11	19	1	1	0	2	1		
Benedict College	1	5	9	6	12	32	6	1	0	3	1		
Bishop College	1	9	10	4	2	25	6	2	0	3	0		
Wiley College	1	0	1	9	11	21	4	1	0	8	1		
Texas College	1	0	0	7	10	17	0	0	0	7	0		
	8	7	40	90	125	142	69	23	2	63	8		

TABLE IV-A

	Estimated Value of Plant	Annual Expenses 1920-21	Endowment
Payne University	\$ 28,200.00	\$ 15,000.00	\$ 0
Selma University	150,000.00	57,673.39	0
Atlanta University	285,941.48	70,028.56	162,099.44
Clark University	550,000.00	53,000.00	50,000.00
Morris Brown University	300,000.00	50,000.00	0
Western University	240,000.00	121,957.00	0
Simmons University	83,000.00	45,303.00	0
Southern University	672,000.00	164,500.00	0
Lincoln University, Mo.	240,000.00	329,500.00	0
Biddle University	280,000.00	52,889.97	75,000.00
Shaw University	375,000.00	79,164.00	54,000.00
Wilberforce University	850,000.00	328,559.00	55,000.00
Lincoln University, Pa.	352,000.00	71,301.24	612,992.00
Allen University	200,000.00	45,000.00	0
Fisk University	522,151.57	140,849.30	257,998.54
Roger Williams University	111,000.00	33,017.77	39,827.74
Virginia Union University	500,000.00	78,448.88	100,000.00
Howard University	1,441,387.73	354,125.19	409,621.37

TABLE IV-B

	Estimated Value of Plant	Annual Expenses 1920-21	Endowment
Talladega College	\$ 320,704.00	\$ 60,527.68	\$ 215,998.00
Florida A. & M. College	179,760.00	75,000.00	0
Morehouse College	375,000.00	95,467.23	321,000.00
New Orleans Teachers College.....	315,000.00	47,482.00	95,000.00
Straight College	190,000.00	72,000.00	19,000.00
Rust College	152,000.00	47,540.00	16,000.00
Tougaloo College	173,850.00	60,527.65	7,000.00
Livingstone College	327,400.00	30,000.00	5,000.00
Claffin College	300,000.00	50,000.00	100,000.00
Knoxville College	179,545.00	40,526.76	0
Lane College	217,500.00	35,000.00	27,500.00
Benedict College	398,000.00	71,978.37	133,000.00
Bishop College	287,650.00	119,953.77	13,296.00
Wiley College	273,000.00	68,265.51	0
Texas College	78,000.00	37,569.40	0

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1. Documents Relating to the Origin and Work of the Slater Trustees, 1894.
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4. Statistics of the Negroes in the United States, by Henry Gannett.
5. Difficulties, Complications, and Limitations Connected with the Education of the Negro, by J. L. M. Curry, LL. D., 1895.
6. Occupations of the Negroes, by Henry Gannett, of the United States Geological Survey, 1895.
7. The Negroes and the Atlanta Exposition, by Alice M. Bacon, of the Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute, Virginia, 1896.
8. Report of the Fifth Tuskegee Negro Conference, by John Quincy Johnson, 1896.
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11. The South and the Negro, by Bishop Charles B. Galloway, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1904.
12. Report of the Society of the Southern Industrial Classes, Norfolk, Va., 1907.
13. Report on Negro Universities in the South, by W. T. B. Williams, 1913.
14. County Teacher Training Schools for Negroes, 1913.
15. Duplication of Schools for Negro Youths, by W. T. B. Williams, 1914.
16. Sketch of Bishop Atticus G. Haywood, by Rev. G. B. Winton, D. D., 1915.
17. Memorial Addresses in Honor of Dr. Booker T. Washington, 1916.
18. Suggested Course for County Training Schools, 1917.
19. Southern Women and Racial Adjustment, by L. H. Hammond, 1917; 2nd ed., 1920.
20. Reference List of Southern Colored Schools, 1918; 2nd ed., 1921.
21. Report on Negro Universities and Colleges, by W. T. B. Williams, 1922.

THE TRUSTEES OF THE JOHN F. SLATER FUND
Occasional Papers, No. 22

EARLY EFFORT
FOR
INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

BY

BENJAMIN BRAWLEY

Author of "A Social History of the American Negro"

1923

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NOTE

The present paper endeavors simply to call to mind one of the half-forgotten chapters in the history of the education of the Negro, and to show that even before the Civil War there was emphasis on industrial training. Seldom does it make any distinction between industrial and vocational education, these terms by popular usage being very nearly synonymous. It is not the plan of the series to emphasize footnotes, and any necessary reference is given in connection with the text. Important as sources are the records of the American Convention of Abolition Societies, the Minutes and Proceedings of the First Annual Convention of the people of Color, Philadelphia, 1831; Proceedings of the National Convention of Colored People and their Friends, Troy, 1847; Proceedings of the Colored National Convention, Rochester, 1853, and other such documents. A brief sketch of the Peterboro Manual Labor School is accessible in the African Repository, X, 312-313, and the editorial from Frederick Douglass' Paper entitled "Learn Trades or Starve" may be found in the same series, XXIX, 136-138. Martin R. Delany's The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States, Politically Considered, Philadelphia, 1852; Life and Times of Frederick Douglass, written by Himself, Hartford, 1882; and James Pyle Wickersham's A History of Education in Pennsylvania, Lancaster, 1886, are valuable for the purpose, while of more recent studies, the opening pages of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois's The Negro Artisan, Atlanta, 1902 (No. 7 of Atlanta University Publications), are suggestive, and Dr. Carter G. Woodson's The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, New York, 1915, gives the subject special consideration.

Jfr
May 12, 1923.

EARLY EFFORT FOR INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

Let our young men and young women prepare themselves for usefulness and business; that the men may enter into merchandise, trading, and other things of importance; the young women may become teachers of various kinds, and otherwise fill places of usefulness. Parents must turn their attention more to the education of their children. We mean, to educate them for useful practical business purposes. Educate them for the store and counting-house—to do everyday practical business. Consult the children's propensities, and direct their education according to their inclinations. It may be that there is too great a desire on the part of parents to give their children a professional education, before the body of the people are ready for it. A people must be a business people and have more to depend upon than mere help in people's houses and hotels, before they are either able to support or capable of properly appreciating the services of professional men among them. This has been one of our great mistakes—we have gone in advance of ourselves. We have commenced at the superstructure of the building, instead of the foundation—at the top instead of the bottom. We should first be mechanics and common tradesmen, and professions as a matter of course would grow out of the wealth made thereby.

These words, that sound as if they were taken from one of the speeches of Booker T. Washington, were not indeed uttered by the distinguished leader of Tukegee. They are from a book published in 1852, the year of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and they were by Martin R. Delany, one of the representative men of the Negro people in the middle of the last century, who was writing several years before Mr. Washington was born.

It is not, however, in the agitation just before the Civil War that we find the beginning of the idea of industrial education for the Negro. For the **Effort before 1820.** ultimate origin we have to go back even to the years before the Revolution, and to the laws governing apprenticeship in the colonies. In 1727, for instance, in Virginia, it was ordered that David James, a free Negro boy, should be bound to one James Isdel, who was to "teach him to read the Bible distinctly, also the trade of a gunsmith." Education in these early years, however, was largely in the hands of the English Church, which

naturally was primarily concerned with religious instruction; and such a case as that just cited had only slight bearing on the later idea of industrial training.

Even at this time the destitute condition of many free Negroes, and their difficulty in adjusting themselves to the situation in which they were placed, excited the solicitude of those persons who were disposed to be friendly; and George Whitefield in 1740 thought of an institution for those in Pennsylvania. A generation later the active mind of Thomas Jefferson debated this as many other problems, and in the hands of this patriot as executor Thaddeus Kosciuszko left considerable property for the improvement of those whose unfortunate situation had touched his heart, the same to be of service "in giving them an education in trades or otherwise." In this, however, as in so many other matters that have affected the welfare of humanity, it remained for the Quakers to take the most definite steps forward. After 1770 the Friends were systematic in their efforts for the education of the Negro. By 1773 they had in Philadelphia a brick schoolhouse for the purpose, and in the course of their training they placed emphasis on sewing and other simple arts. By 1782 the philanthropist, Anthony Benezet, who had long been interested in education and social betterment, was formally in charge of the school, and at his death he left a fortune "to hire and employ a religious-minded person or persons, to teach a number of Negro, mulatto, or Indian children, to read, write, arithmetic, plain accounts, needle work, etc." By this time, however, under the influence of the humanitarian impulses of the Revolutionary era, the state Abolition Societies had come into being, and the delegates from nine such organizations formed on January 1, 1794, the American Convention of Abolition Societies. The different branches were interested not only in emancipation; each also reported from time to time on the property and employment as well as the conduct of the freedmen in its province. The Convention also prepared addresses to "the Free Africans and other Free People of Color in the United States." Typical was that of 1796, which advised among other things as follows:

Teach your children useful trades, or to labor with their hands in cultivating the earth. These employments are favorable to health and virtue. In the choice of masters, who are to instruct them in the above branches of business, prefer those who will work with them; by this means they will acquire habits of industry, and be better preserved from vice than if they worked alone, or under the eye of persons less interested in their welfare.

The solicitude that was beginning to be manifested for the highest social welfare of the Negro was largely in response to an economic situation that was

Economic Situation. rapidly developing in the country.

As far back as 1708 white mechanics in Pennsylvania had protested against the hiring out of Negro mechanics, and in 1722 there had been further protest. In the early years of the nineteenth century the tendency towards restriction was even more pronounced. It was increasingly becoming evident that in the history of the Negro in America slavery was only an incident—a very grave and important incident, but still an incident—and that the final question was that of his actual place in the body politic. Here was a problem that in the untimate analysis reached far beyond an artificial system of bondage. In Ohio about 1820 Mechanics' Societies combined against Negroes, and a master mechanic was publicly tried for assisting a young Negro to learn a trade. When moreover a Negro cabinet-maker purchased his freedom in Kentucky and went to Cincinnati, he found great difficulty in getting employment. An Englishman finally gave him work, but the other employees struck. Such was the situation that the Negro had to face throughout the North and the growing Central West. Individuals of unusual ambition and energy sometimes found a way out in spite of the handicap, but the actual condition of many of the freedmen left much to be desired. In nothing was the idealism of the Abolitionists more manifest than this, that in the face of the unusually difficult situation they still insisted on fundamental principles. Those who were most actively interested in the welfare of the Negro also had the good sense to see that many of the freedmen were quite untrained for any place in a fast growing industrial community.

In the South labor was almost wholly in the hands of slaves, though in some of the older and larger cities the F. M. C.'s (Free Men of Color) prospered, and individual masons or carpenters were sometimes very efficient. A great plantation moreover had men working in several different trades. In course of time, however, this section faced a great dilemma. Slave labor and skilled labor were essentially contradictory terms. A man could go only a little way in intelligence and skill without desiring to be his own master. Men could hardly be increasingly efficient and at the same time satisfied in a state of bondage. After 1831 acts against the education of the Negro became more repressive. Thus Georgia in 1833 enacted that no one should permit a Negro to transact business for him in writing, and in 1845 said that slaves and free Negroes could not take contracts to build or repair houses.

To the difficulty that the Negro mechanic faced, especially in the North, was now added another force that did not tend to emphasize industrial training or achievement, and this was found in the **Negro Advance and Opinion.** Negro's own ambition for higher things. About 1840 there was still question as to the intellectual capacity of the Negro student, and this doubt became a challenge to earnest young men to measure themselves by the highest possible standards. These standards were those of the classical college. It was a day when the dignity of labor was not yet fully realized, and when modern methods of scientific agriculture had yet a long way to go. While then there was as yet only the beginning of such a racial consciousness as meant emphasis on Negro enterprise, there was growing up a small but important group of educated men who often found it difficult or even impossible to find positions at once congenial and financially profitable. Some of these men were trained for service in Liberia. Others who may not have contemplated such service also felt that their best opportunity was in the new country in the ancient fatherland. Thus early were there the opposing ideals of industrial and liberal education, and the conflict was

only less strong than that sixty years later. Not every one could see that the Negro people, like any other people, needed both kinds of training, and those who advocated training for different industrial fields had an uphill fight. There was yet another matter. Even then earnest and patriotic Negro men were divided on the great question of emphasizing racial ideals or of losing racial consciousness in the larger life of the nation. *The National Anti-Slavery Standard* said: "We oppose all exclusive action on the part of the colored people, except where the clearest necessity demands it;" and Frederick Douglass, who so ardently favored industrial training, was one of those who advocated the national rather than the racial ideal. It is accordingly not to be wondered at that in all the currents and counter-currents of the day even honest men were sometimes uncertain as to the best course to pursue. The hard facts of the economic situation forced attention, however, and in the whole generation just before the Civil War there was effort for training in the trades as well as endeavor for advancement in more liberal or classical culture.

Effort began to be definite in the formal convention of Negro men assembled in Philadelphia in June, 1831. To this came delegates from five states.

Proposed Manual Labor College. In the course of its sessions the convention was visited by Benjamin Lundy, of Washington, William Lloyd Garrison, of Boston, Arthur Tappan, of New York, Thomas Shipley and Charles Pierce, of Philadelphia, and Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, of New Haven. Jocelyn, Tappan, and Garrison addressed the convention with reference to a proposed college in New Haven, toward the \$20,000 expense of which one individual (Tappan himself) had subscribed \$1,000, with the understanding that the remaining \$19,000 be raised within a year. A committee on the same said in its report

That a plan had been submitted to them by the above-named gentlemen, for the liberal education of Young Men of Color, on the Manual-Labor system, all of which they respectfully submit to the consideration of the Convention . . . The plan proposed is, that a College be established at New Haven, Conn., as

soon as \$20,000 are obtained, and to be on the Manual-Labor system, by which, in connection with a scientific education, they may also obtain a useful Mechanical or Agricultural profession.

The report was unanimously adopted. In favor of New Haven as the place of location seven reasons were given, as follows: The site was healthy and beautiful; the inhabitants were friendly, pious, generous, and humane; the laws were salutary and protecting to all, without regard to complexion; boarding was cheap and provisions were good; the situation was as central as any other that could be obtained with the same advantages; the town of New Haven carried on an extensive West India trade, and many of the wealthy colored residents in the Islands would, no doubt, send their sons there to be educated, thus forming a fresh tie of friendship, which would be productive of much good in the end; and finally, the literary and scientific character of New Haven rendered it a desirable place for the location of the college.

As to all of this the advocates of the plan were soon undeceived. The inhabitants of New Haven may have been pious, but they were certainly not generous or friendly. The citizens at a public meeting declared themselves as absolutely opposed to the project and forced it to be abandoned. After a year or two some effort was made to transfer the money on hand to an academy built by subscription in Canaan, N. H., in 1834, but at this place the townspeople demolished the edifice that was erected. In the conventions of Negro men, however, the idea persistently obtained, and at the Troy meeting in 1847 the Committee on Education, composed of Alexander Crummell, James McCune Smith, and P. G. Smith, reported in favor of "a collegiate institution, on the manual labor plan," and a committee of twenty-five was appointed to carry the idea into effect. Again in 1853, at Rochester, there was renewed interest in an industrial college; steps were taken for the registry of Negro mechanics and artisans who were in search of employment, and of the names of persons who were willing to give them work; and there was also a committee on historical records and statistics that was not only to compile studies in Negro biography but also

reply to attacks on the race. Too much emphasis can not be placed upon the fact that Frederick Douglass, James W. C. Pennington, James McCune Smith, Alexander Crummell, Martin R. Delany, William C. Nell, and other representative men of this period were by no means impractical theorists but men who were scientifically approaching the problem of their people and who debated intelligently practically every great question that faces the race to-day. They not only anticipated the ideas of industrial education and of the National Urban League of the present day, but they also endeavored to lay firmly the foundations of racial self-respect. Of them all, in connection with the present subject, Frederick Douglass calls for very special mention.

A few months after the appearance of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and while that book was still enjoying its first great success, Frederick Douglass was invited by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe to confer with her about a plan which she was considering for the advancement of the free colored people of the country. She was just about to go to England, she said, and expected to have some money placed in her hands. This she thought to use in erecting a monument to "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and she was wondering whether the best thing would be an educational institution pure and simple or a school more specifically industrial. Douglass expressed himself as opposed to an industrial school that was merely theoretical and as desiring actual workshops. The colored people, he said, needed money; they were shut out from all workshops and were only barbers, waiters, and coachmen. They "needed more to learn how to make a good living than to learn Latin and Greek." Mrs. Stowe approved this idea and asked Douglass for a formal letter that she might use as occasion demanded. This Douglass wrote from Rochester under date March 8, 1853. After discussing the general difficulties of the situation, and how it was that some representative men had been forced to leave the country, he passed to concrete suggestion; and his statement is so clear and strong that we give it at length in his own words:

The plan which I humbly submit is the establishment in Rochester, N. Y., or in some other part of the United States equally favorable to such an enterprise, of an Industrial College in which shall be taught several important branches of the mechanic arts. This college to be open to colored youth. I will pass over the details of such an institution as I propose. Never having had a day's schooling in all my life I may not be expected to map out the details of a plan so comprehensive as that involved in the idea of a college. I repeat, then, I leave the organization and administration to the superior wisdom of yourself and the friends who second your noble efforts. The argument in favor of an Industrial College (a college to be conducted by the best men, and the best workmen which the mechanic arts can afford; a college where colored youth can be instructed to use their hands, as well as their heads; where they can be put in possession of the means of getting a living whether their lot in after life may be cast among civilized or uncivilized men; whether they choose to stay here, or prefer to return to the land of their fathers) is briefly this: Prejudice against the free colored people in the United States has shown itself nowhere so invincible as among mechanics. The farmer and the professional man cherish no feeling so bitter as that cherished by these. The latter would starve us out of the country entirely. At this moment I can more easily get my son into a lawyer's office to study law than I can into a blacksmith's shop to blow the bellows and to wield the sledge-hammer. Denied the means of learning useful trades we are pressed into the narrowest limits to obtain a livelihood. In times past we have been the hewers of wood and drawers of water for American society, and we once enjoyed a monopoly in menial employments, but this is so no longer. Even these employments are rapidly passing away out of our hands. The fact is (every day begins with the lesson, and ends with the lesson) that colored men must learn trades; must find new employments; new modes of usefulness to society, or that they must decay under the pressing want to which their condition is rapidly bringing them.

We must become mechanics; we must build as well as live in houses; we must make as well as use furniture; we must construct bridges as well as pass over them, before we can properly live or be respected by our fellowmen. We need mechanics as well as ministers. We need workers in iron, clay, and leather. We have orators, authors, and other professional men, but these reach only a certain class, and get respect for our race in certain select circles. To live here as we ought we must fasten ourselves to our countrymen through their every day cardinal wants. We must not only be able to *black* boots, but to *make* them. At present we are unknown in the northern states as mechanics. We

give no proof of genius or skill at the county, state, or national fairs. We are unknown at any of the great exhibitions of the industry of our fellowcitizens, and being unknown we are unconsidered.

Douglass communicated his views to other representative men, especially at the convention in Rochester, 1853, which he termed "the largest and most enlightened colored convention that, up to that time, had ever assembled in this country." The plan of Mrs. Stowe, however, had unfortunate development. While in England this writer was criticised for raising money, and when she returned she announced that she had given up the idea of a school. Douglass himself could not see the reason for this and not unnaturally felt that in the whole matter he had been placed in an "awkward position." He never ceased to feel the need for vocational training, however, and one of the most characteristic of his utterances that have come down to us was the editorial in his own paper entitled "Learn Trades or Starve," in which he said: "The American Colonization Society tells you to go to Liberia. Mr. Bibb tells you to go to Canada. Others tell you to go to school. We tell you to go to work; and to work you must go or die. Men are not valued in this country, or in any country, for what they *are*; they are valued for what they can *do*."

While in conventions and elsewhere manual labor training for Negro young men and women was being discussed, there were at least a few attempts to give concrete expression to the idea. One of the most interesting of these was the "Manual Labor School for Young Men of Color" started in Peterboro, Madison County, N. Y., in May, 1834. This was simply a part of the general plan of Gerrit Smith for the amelioration of the condition of free Negroes in the North. This remarkable man, whose interests ranged all the way from theology and temperance to politics and railroads, and whose great wealth was most generously distributed, had in mind an institution for which he laid down regulations that interestingly anticipate those of institutions of a later day. The school was open to young men from

fourteen to twenty-five years of age, and each was informed before he came that he would need a supply of "good coarse clothing" for a year or two, and five or ten dollars above the expenses of his journey. The students were supplied with books and board, and living was very plain. Every boy was required to work four hours a day, and it was estimated that this student labor was worth slightly more than three cents an hour, or twelve and a half cents for the four hours. Neither tea nor coffee was used, and the students slept on straw mattresses. They did their own cooking and washing under the supervision of a capable woman of the race, one who had "lived a great many years in the family of the late Governor Trumbull." Such service counted on the required work. Each student promised to abstain from intoxicants, including cider and strong beer, and tobacco in every form. There was a reading table well supplied with abolition and colonization literature, and when a young man left the institution he was free to go wherever seemed best. Such was the plan. Just how well it was carried out it is difficult to say. The matter is practically unmentioned in the biography of Smith (that by Frothingham). At the beginning, we may observe, there was provision for eighteen young men; within two months seven were in attendance, and it was expected that the place would soon be full.

Other schools were started with similar purpose; but it is to be remembered that even in institutions that offered some simple industries, vocational training was not always the prime object. Sometimes Negro students were admitted to white institutions, and there was also a vanishing line between the industrial school and the one for orphan children that required several hours of work. In 1842 those Negroes who had made their way to Canada called a convention to advise as to the expenditure of \$1,500 that had been given for their welfare. It was decided to found a grammar school but one "where the boys could be taught the practice of some mechanic art, and the girls could be instructed in those domestic arts which are the proper occupation and ornament of their sex."

Thus was organized the British and American Manual Labor Institute of the Colored Settlements in Upper Canada. In this enterprise the leading spirits were Rev. Hiram Wilson and Josiah Henson, the famous prototype of Uncle Tom; and for about fifteen years the school thus founded did much to cultivate self-reliance on the part of those who attended.

We return to the efforts of the Quakers in Pennsylvania. In 1832 Richard Humphreys left \$10,000 to establish a school for instructing "descendants of the African race in school learning in the various branches of the mechanical arts and trades and agriculture." In 1839 the Society of Friends formed an association to carry out this provision, and it was felt that the best way to be of service to the Negroes was "to extend to them the benefits of a good education, and to instruct them in the knowledge of some useful trade or business, whereby they may be enabled to obtain a comfortable livelihood by their own industry." They bought a piece of land in Philadelphia County and began instruction in farming and shoemaking. The industrial effort was not very successful, however, and seven years afterwards the trustees sold the farm, and the school developed into the later well known Institute for Colored Youth.

In the meantime Augustus Wattles, who had been interested in the education of the freedmen in Ohio, met in Philadelphia the trustees of the fund of Samuel Emlen, of New Jersey, who in his will had set aside \$20,000 "for the support and education in school learning and mechanic arts and agriculture of boys of African and Indian descent whose parents would give them to the Institute." Emlen Institute became one of those schools or homes that more and more emphasized the care and training of orphans. Beginning in Ohio in 1843, it was removed to Bucks County, Pennsylvania, in 1858, removed again in 1873 to a site not far away, and in 1878 had sixteen boys in attendance.

Thus, although institutions did not always develop as it was intended that they should, even a generation before the Civil War there were concrete and clearly defined plans for the industrial training of Negro young people in the United States.

Such efforts as these give only a faint idea of the interest that there was in the subject of industrial or vocational training in the years before the Civil War.

From Promise to Fulfilment. In the course of the great struggle itself came the rapid growth of schools for the

freedmen throughout the South, and in a few years the great development of Hampton Institute under General Armstrong. Several years were yet to pass, however, before the idea of industrial training was to take firm hold of the popular mind. In 1882 was established the Slater Fund, whose "singularly wise administration" was some years ago remarked by Dr. DuBois as "perhaps the greatest single impulse toward the economic emancipation of the Negro." In 1884 Henry Edwards Brown, secretary of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, circulated an interesting letter that looked toward the founding of an industrial school for Negro young men and women in the far South. It was not then realized that the institution was already in existence; but of course Tuskegee in 1884 was by no means the place that it became after Mr. Washington's epoch-making speech in 1895.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS PUBLISHED BY THE TRUSTEES OF
THE JOHN F. SLATER FUND.

1. Documents Relating to the Origin and Work of the Slater Trustees, 1894.
2. A Brief Memoir of the Life of John F. Slater, by Rev. S. H. Howe, D. D., 1894.
3. Education of the Negroes Since 1860, by J. L. M. Curry, LL. D., 1894.
4. Statistics of the Negroes in the United States, by Henry Gannett, of the United States Geological Survey, 1894.
5. Difficulties, Complications, and Limitations Connected with the Education of the Negro, by J. L. M. Curry, LL. D., 1895.
6. Occupations of the Negroes, by Henry Gannett, of the United States Geological Survey, 1895.
7. The Negroes and the Atlanta Exposition, by Alice M. Bacon, of the Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute, Virginia, 1896.
8. Report of the Fifth Tuskegee Negro Conference, by John Quincy Johnson, 1896.
9. A Report Concerning the Colored Women of the South, by Mrs. E. C. Hobson and Mrs. C. E. Hopkins, 1896.
10. A Study in Black and White, by Daniel C. Gilman, 1897.
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12. Report of the Society of the Southern Industrial Classes, Norfolk, Va., 1907.
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16. Sketch of Bishop Atticus G. Haygood, by Rev. G. B. Winton, D. D., 1915.
17. Memorial Addresses in Honor of Dr. Booker T. Washington, 1916.
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